

# THE LABOUR ORGANISER

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## THE LATE ARTHUR HENDERSON

It is with the deepest regret that, though late in the day, our columns must record the lamentable death of the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., which took place a few hours after the publication of our last issue.

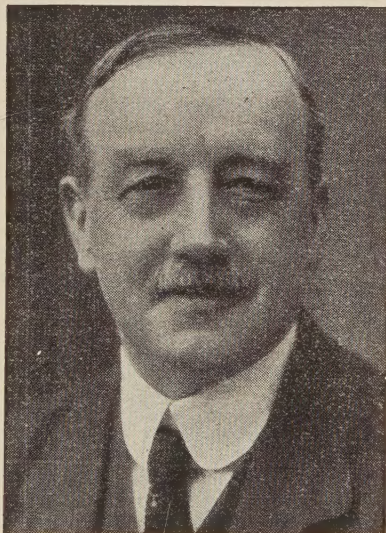
Though in the later years of his life Mr. Henderson was one of Europe's foremost figures, he remained to the end, to the readers of this journal, not only the author, but the leader in Labour organisation. Till within a few months of his death Mr. Henderson remained in the closest touch with his constituency associates. In all the great circle of mourners there are none who more truly feel his loss than those who participated in his life-time task of Party building.

The death took place on Sunday, October 20th, and our sympathies go out especially to the devoted wife and family.

Born in 1863 Mr. Arthur Henderson had a working-class education, and was early apprenticed to the iron foundry trade. He married in 1888, and after some years of political activity in the Liberal Party he joined the Labour Party.

Mr. Henderson struck the national eye first by his victory in Barnard Castle in 1903, for which constituency he sat till the redistribution of 1918. From 1903 until his death Henderson's name was inseparable from that of the Labour Party.

The trait in Henderson's character which seems to us to have served him best in all spheres and activities, was his fidelity to a principle, evidenced again and again by his actions and extending also to an unswerving loyalty which he showed to Party, to friends and to servants alike. Several instances of this loyalty to principle came under our personal notice, and on more than one occasion we knew of circumstances where a weaker man would have made an electoral profit



from a compromise which Henderson spurned to make.

It was our luck to serve under Mr. Henderson in two hard-fought By-elections, at both of which he was returned by significant majorities. We recall an instance which reveals a little-known trait in Henderson's character. He was fond of Mrs. Henderson.

At the last By-election we produced a poll card, which showing "the Chief" on the face, gave also a photograph of Mrs. Henderson on the back, with the caption "Who Keeps the Man at Work?" Not a little to our surprise Mr. Henderson was mightily pleased with the poll card and sent a number to his friends.

Our readers will join with us in mourning the loss of a great man. Henderson was not perfect, but he played the perfect part in many a scene, that when our time comes to be written will spell history. And for once our loss is the world's loss too.

## MONTH BY MONTH

**THE RESULT.** Not at all what the prophets predicted; but singularly near an estimate of Labour gains given by a well-informed Labour official to a meeting three months ago. It is possible that in this election the characteristic scare-mongering of Government journals did something to raise false hopes among many Labour people. Actually on the eve of the poll, Tory journals predicted a Government majority of only one hundred, a result which would have required a landslide even more phenomenal than that of 1931. Those who knew anything of the real position in the country wondered from the first where certain prophets got their information. And Labour scribes were no less out in their prognostications than were those of the enemy.

**ANALYSIS.** Apart from personal interests and the advantages of an even stronger Party in the House, there might well be room for satisfaction that the Party's political representation is certainly not in excess of its title reckoned according to the vote obtained. The over-representation which Labour secured in the 1929 Parliament did not prove an un-mixed blessing, and certainly raised false hopes of an early electoral victory. The problem to-day is precisely that which it was when the Victory for Socialism Campaign was launched, i.e., to convert a majority of the electors to Labour's way of thinking. The measure of our progress since 1931 is up to the time of writing less than 50,000 short of two million votes. In other words, Labour's voting strength has increased by approximately 30 per cent.: we are two million votes nearer to a majority. Cause for real congratulation. Albeit it only means back to 1929.

**MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.** Once again we have to thank the Tories for the deliberate confusion of Municipal policies with National politics. Labour did not do so well on November 1st as in the two previous years, but the readers of at least three "great" national dailies,

and no end of others, are still under the impression that Labour suffered a defeat. The earlier results certainly indicated that Labour had suffered a setback, and had lost seats. This news was gleefully heralded by the Tory sup-press, but when the later results came through showing that Labour had retrieved its losses, and had in fact gained control of several more Councils, Tory papers had no further stomach for the truth. In the same way, readers of our "leading" newspapers are still denied the news of Labour's Municipal gains of 1934. What "Daily Mail" reader, for instance, has heard of Labour's 742 nett gains?

And still there are people who would have us be civil to the British press and tolerant of its tricks! For ourselves, we have scant respect for "gentlemen of the press," and even less regard for the intelligence of its readers.

**ANY LESSONS?** It is a bitter thought to most of us, and especially hard for many a veteran who has fought hard at this fight, and at many others, that another four or five years must go by ere the present decision of the electors can be reversed. That at any rate is the natural order of things, though it is not inevitable. Out of the fact that Labour is only now "back to 1929"; that its carefully thought-out policies have been rejected, and that the land is peopled with its defeated candidates, there must surely arise some lessons for the future. Some of these we deal with in this issue, but all of them will not be discovered all at once. Times change. We must be careful to-day not to think of the issues and the technique of the next election wholly in the terms of the one just over. Years of opposition invigorate most Parties, but in our case the years of opposition also mean years more of capitalist régime. Our old theory was that the demise of capitalism was inevitable, inexorable, evolutionary; but does the something that will take its place appear upon the horizon as Socialism or something else? and will

*(Concluded on opposite page)*



# SUB-AGENTS

## NOT NOTIFIED

Most election agents are aware of the provisions of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act relating to sub-agents. Under Section 25 of the Act, sub-agents may be appointed by the election agent to act within different polling districts; as regards matters in a polling district anything done by the sub-agent in his district is deemed to be done by the election agent; the election agent is directed to declare in writing one clear day before the polling the name and address of every sub-agent to the returning officer, who in turn gives public notice of each such appointment.

Many election agents are under the impression that the appointment of a sub-agent is not complete unless his name has been notified to the returning officer as directed. This is not the case, and the principle we are about to explain is of considerable importance to those agents (and we are afraid they are numerous) who have appointed sub-agents to act for them, even if only verbally, but have not notified the names to the R.O.

In the Berwick-upon-Tweed Petition (1923) a judgment was given upon this point. It here appeared that certain persons had been appointed as sub-agents, but their appointment had not been notified to the returning officer.

Giving judgment Mr. Justice Avory said:

"The contention of Mr. Matthews is that under Section 25, sub-agents are not such for the purposes of the Act unless, and until, their appointment is implemented by notice of their appointment given to the returning officer under sub-section 3 of Section 25. Looking at sub-section 2 and sub-section 4 of that same section it appears to me that that contention cannot be supported . . .

"If the contention which is now put forward were sound . . . there would be no liability for the acts or defaults of the sub-agents except for any such as occur on that one day or subsequently . . .

"My view is that this is the wrong construction of this section. I think that the object of this notice

under sub-section 3 is that the public or the electors may know at all events by that date that the persons named were in fact sub-agents, so that they may trace back any responsibility for any act done by those persons."

Mr. Justice Sankey (now Lord Sankey) concurring, said:

"No penalty is prescribed in the Act itself for the breach of Section 25, sub-section 3. In my view the object of that sub-section was to place it beyond doubt who were sub-agents in order that a person should have no difficulty in future proceedings against either such sub-agents or the candidate in proving the sub-agency. I do not think . . . that the failure of the election agent to return the list invalidates that appointment, and it is impossible to hold that the sending of the list was a condition precedent to their appointment being valid."

Agents in county divisions should especially note the above judgment, but it would be a dangerous proceeding to take advantage of the fact pointed to by Mr. Justice Sankey that no penalty attached to the failure to notify the R.O. of the appointment of sub-agents.

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### BOURNEMOUTH—

**Food Reform**

**Guest House.**

**Loughtonhurst,**

**West Cliff**

**Gardens.**

Get right away from the Movement and have a holiday or rest with us. Revised terms. Write Manager.  
H. & C. ALL  
ROOMS.

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*(Continued from opposite page)*

we next time be fighting outworn creeds with new solutions, or pitting old arguments against new and changed conceptions, even though the latter be fundamentally wrong? Of the next few years it is indeed difficult to forecast. But, anyway, it looks as if history will be making. Shall we be in it?

# REDISTRIBUTION

## ASK—AND YE SHALL

Fools rush in where angels fear to tread, and it is unfortunate that already a shriek has gone up calling for the enactment of a measure of re-distribution during the life-time of the newly elected Parliament. We advise our readers to be very careful of joining in this demand.

A measure of redistribution carried out by a Tory government fearful of Socialist victory, would most probably turn out to be an instrument for Party advantage, apart altogether from the fact that the uncertainties and local disturbances caused by redistribution would probably have a much more damaging effect upon Labour organisation than upon the monied Tory and Liberal organisations.

Redistribution may be a very desirable thing in itself, but under a Tory régime Labour is likely to get the worst end of the stick. Once the present Government tackles a task of this kind there is little doubt but that it would be accompanied by tinkering with the franchise and other changes, which would certainly be intended to hamper Labour's chances at the polls. It is bad enough that the present Government will almost certainly strengthen the House of Lords before its term of office is over, without presenting it with the opportunity of further loading the dice in relation to House of Commons elections.

The last measure of redistribution was that of 1918. The redistribution then enacted and the franchise changes which were included in the Act, were, however, not so much the work of a partisan majority as the result of agreement among the Parties and of an exceptional political situation. Such circumstances do not now prevail, and any tinkering with the question mentioned in the present Parliament will almost certainly be of a partisan nature, and be accompanied by a bitter fight in the House.

It may be interesting to recall that the Act of 1918 owed its origin to feelers which were thrown out as far back as 1916 by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, who suggested

## RECEIVE!

that the Parliament which was to undertake the work of reconstruction after the War should be elected on such an electoral basis as to give its decision a moral authority.

Mr. Asquith's approaches met with a good response, and ultimately Speaker Lowther (later Lord Ullswater) presided over a Conference, which among other things, made the recommendations outlined below. The Boundary Commissioners duly carried out their functions, and the R.P. Act was passed in a spirit of conciliation and compromise all round.

The following are the recommendations of the Conference in relation only to the redistribution of seats.

"This Conference accepts as governing any scheme of redistribution the principle that each vote recorded shall, as far as possible, command an equal share of representation in the House of Commons.

It is desirable that there shall be a Redistribution of Seats in accordance with the following general rules:—

- I. The number of members of the House of Commons for Great Britain shall remain substantially as at present.
- II. In the application of this principle the information at the disposal of the Conference indicates the taking of 70,000 as the standard unit of population for each member.
- III. A county or borough (other than the City of London) with a population of less than 50,000 shall cease to have separate representation.
- IV. A county or borough with a population of 50,000, but less than 70,000, shall continue to have separate representation.
- V. A municipal borough or urban district with a population not less than 70,000 shall become a separate Parliamentary borough.



- VI. A county or borough at present returning two members shall not lose a member if the defect in the population is 20,000 or less.
- VII. A member shall be given for 70,000 and for every multiple of 70,000, and an additional member for any remainder which is not less than 50,000.
- VIII. The boundaries of Parliamentary constituencies shall, as far as practicable, coincide with the boundaries of administrative areas.
- IX. The City of London shall continue as at present to return two members.

Existing boroughs entitled to return two members shall not be divided.

Where there are contiguous boroughs which, if formed into a single constituency, would be entitled to return not fewer than three nor more than five members, it shall be an instruction to the Boundary Commissioners to unite such boroughs into a single constituency.

(This resolution would only become applicable in the event of a system of Proportional Representation being adopted, as recommended in a subsequent resolution).

It shall be an instruction to the Boundary Commissioners to take the population as estimated by the Registrar-General for July, 1914, instead of the population according to the census of 1911.

It shall be a recommendation to the Boundary Commissioners, after ascertaining local opinion, to segregate as far as possible adjacent industrial and rural areas in forming constituencies within any county.

Where, under the application of these rules, a borough loses its right to separate representation in Parliament, it shall be competent for the Commissioners, after having ascertained local opinion on the subject, to combine such borough with any other such borough or boroughs lying within the county, or with any other borough in the same county having separate representation, instead of merging it in the adjacent county division.

When an ancient Parliamentary borough loses its representation, the county division in which the borough becomes merged shall be named after the merged borough.

Where districts or burghs in Scotland comprise burghs in different counties, or where under the foregoing rules a Parliamentary borough which is a district of burghs would lose representation, it shall be an instruction to the Boundary Commissioners to consider the desirability of regrouping the burghs or adding neighbouring burghs in the same county, regard being had to their size, to a proper representation of the urban and rural population, and to the distribution and pursuits of such population.

Provided that the representation of the county is not thereby affected."

As a result of the 1918 redistribution forty-four Boroughs lost their separate representation, among these were Canterbury, Chester, Durham, Lichfield, Shrewsbury, Winchester and Windsor. The total number of Boroughs, however, was increased by thirty-six. Some of the suggestions of the Speaker's Conference were not accepted by Parliament.

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# A CAMPAIGN for the CHILDREN

By LESLIE A. PAUL

The recognition of The Woodcraft Folk as the appropriate junior organisation of the Labour Party came at an unfortunate moment, for within a week or two of the issue of the official circular the country was apprehensive of an imminent General Election.

With an election in the offing few parties had the time to spare to consider venturing into new pastures. Nevertheless, the response from Parties all over the country has been extremely encouraging.

By the time these words appear in print the election will be over and the dust of the conflict settling. Parties will settle down once again to the steady day-to-day work by which in the long run public opinion is moved and elections are won. Then, in fact, will be the time for all Parties to turn to a consideration of the need for the development of work with children.

That work, we urge once again, is pressing and important. A whole generation is growing up (and will in the course of a few years' time find its way to the electoral registers) *which was born after the war* and to which the Great War means very little more than the Boer War does to the author of these notes.

The enthusiasm of that generation must be caught for socialism and peace or the Labour Party will become a Party of the old and middle-aged.

During the course of the winter The Woodcraft Folk will launch a propaganda campaign in the Party. It is hoped to give that campaign a rousing send-off by a large London Conference and Rally. The National Council of the Folk is planning for the enormously increased responsibilities it must face by raising a fund for the payment of a salary to a National Organiser as from the New Year. We are confident that the Party Executive will be prepared to contribute to that fund when the election is over and routine becomes normal once again.

In the meantime I must repeat the

request I made in the August issue—that The Woodcraft Folk will be glad to enrol Divisional Parties and Women's Sections as Associate Bodies at an annual subscription of a guinea, fifteen and sixpence, or half a guinea. Children cannot be expected to find the money to run their own organisation and must rely upon the organised adult movements for their finance.

The recognition has made all our standing literature out of date and we are busy preparing new stacks of pamphlets and booklets for the work we have to do. Our printing bill this winter is likely to run to an extremely high figure.

We urge upon Parties not to wait for our propaganda campaign to force them to form groups, but to make a start right away. The initial step, as the Executive urges, is to form a special sub-committee to make contact with the Secretary of the Folk and any local branches of the movement and to report at an early date on the possibility of starting a children's group.

Such a sub-committee should work upon the following points:

1. The need for securing the services of a suitable leader (Someone preferably young and preferably with experience of camping and work with children.)

2. Accommodation for the group. Either a room in Party headquarters, on an evening when making a noise won't disturb other meetings, or else the hiring of a suitable hall in the vicinity, such as a school hall. Some Parties may have suitable ground on which a small hut might be erected.

3. Financial support. The new group will need a grant towards its equipment—say £5—which might be raised by socials and whist drives.

4. Contact with the district organisation of the Folk. An application to the Secretary of the National Council, John Mayston, 5, Brightman Road, London, S.W.18, will simplify the making of such contacts. The local



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organisation in areas where the Folk is strong would give all the assistance it possibly could to help in the establishment of new groups.

I will deal in future issues with the educational programme of groups once they are established and with the necessary steps in organisation and provision of equipment.

I join with the Editor of the "Labour Organiser" is asking that Parties shall assist us to prevent the whole problem of juvenile organisation "degenerating into a mere permissive."

A strong campaign is needed.

Financial assistance to the children's movement is necessary both from the National Party and the Divisional and Women's organisations. The Woodcraft Folk on its side will do its share. It has at the moment under consideration the enlarging of its children's paper "The Pioneer," the publication of a new textbook and a revised course of instruction for leaders and the issue of a special paper for helpers and leaders.

Please raise the matters dealt with in this article at Party meetings and so rouse Party opinion to the necessity for immediate action.

# THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT

By **BASIL RAWSON**, Headman, The Woodcraft Folk

My first words must be of greeting to all readers of the "Labour Organiser." Our collaboration in the task of building a new channel for the advance of Socialist and Co-operative ideals, via the media of child-training, is something to which I and my colleagues look forward.

One of the questions which has no doubt arisen in the minds of some party workers following the Labour Party E.C.'s circular, is with regard to the necessity for a children's organisation with such a broad programme as that of the Folk. May I, then, briefly state what I believe should be the broad principles of a children's organisation intended to prepare children for Socialism and Co-operation.

Such an organisation should:—

1. Seek to undo the harm perpetrated upon the bodies and minds of children by the system under which they live; such effects range from those resulting from unhealthy surroundings to the more subtle and dangerous effects upon the growing mind of certain aspects of environment and training. Open air life such as camping and hiking are in themselves antidotes to some of these social poisons. A new educational technique combats other ill effects due to defects in our educational system.

2. It should introduce children to

beauty and to new ways of living communally as a contrast to the drab and competitive life of the cities. Communal life outdoor and a co-operative camp technique offer new environment and practice in co-operation which leaves an indelible impression upon the minds of children.

3. Children should be given opportunities for self-expression and responsibility. Much of the slave complex from which our modern peoples suffer arises from the repressions of childhood. Group activities and camp-life and simple dramatic activities provide many opportunities for self-expression.

4. Wider chances for creative work should be open to children. Simple crafts and art of original kind should be encouraged.

5. An educational technique should be used to suit the child mentality and by planned methods provide an opportunity to acquire vital knowledge at present denied to children; such as knowledge of life itself, of the human body, of the forces which mould man, of his story right through the ages, of man's struggle towards freedom, his organisations, and the forces against which he strives.

6. Such an organisation should be co-educational—if only in view of the fact that men and women *together* wage the struggle for and will eventu-



ally build the new system of society.

7. It should strive to inculcate self-discipline — in contrast to the old external discipline which resulted in the mass being so reliant upon leaders, press and herd emotions.

8. It should fearlessly denounce the falsities of modern life and teaching, especially as regards history, empire, war, etc., and by carefully planned work lead children to a realisation of their position in modern civilisation, a hatred of all injustice and tyranny, a positive belief in world unity and co-operation and the desire and will

to embark upon the great adventure of establishing a new world-order.

An organisation along these lines, using methods of attraction which have proved effective, and such slogans as "Physical and Mental Fitness—for World Service" can, and will, attract children in ever-growing numbers. Success will depend upon the number and enthusiasm of those who will offer to lead the groups of waiting children.

A mighty weapon in the struggle for emancipation lies to the hands of the workers' movements—if they will use it.

# JACK CUTTER—

## COMMENTS ON THE LABOUR AGENTS' ANNUAL CONFERENCE

In the days when all the world was young, there was a song which, so far as I remember, began like this:—

"At Brighton, at Brighton

They do such things,

And they say such things."

And at the Brighton Conference of the Agents' Union things were done and said. Jack Cape, the Chairman, did and said things which no other Chairman in the Labour Movement could do and say—and get away with. "On a point of order," said a member, overflowing with a peculiar and extensive knowledge of that mysterious and unwritten set of tenets known as "The Rules of Debate," "On a point of order. Isn't it the usual practice, when the Previous Question has been moved, to so and so?"

"Ay, maybe it's the usual practice," says Jack, "but my ruling is . . ."

And because of Jack's smile and sheer effrontery, no one has the nerve to object, and as a result we get through a full agenda without an adjournment.

A motion tabled by the London District gave us a fine opportunity to stand on our dignity, and by an overwhelming majority it was decided that we Agents had a perfect right to become Councillors, Aldermen, Bailies or anything else. All this arose out of an obscure paragraph in the Report

of the National Executive to the Southport Conference a year ago, more or less tactfully stating the opinion that Party Agents had plenty to do without becoming members of local authorities. You may remember that I wrote about the matter in these columns at the time, coming to the conclusion that there was something to be said for the N.E.C.'s point of view.

After hearing the case for freedom and civic right, so eloquently put at Brighton, I suppose I ought now to be wearing sackcloth and ashes, but I was not convinced. I could (and perhaps some day will) devote a full article to the subject. Sufficient for this report to say that a Labour Agent, however perfectly fitted by his training and experience to be an ideal administrator, has, as a Councillor, to walk a very thin tight-rope if he wishes to avoid local controversies and to kill the natural suspicions of his opponents that he is there for some ulterior and (to them) sinister motive.

In electing our officers for the next year we found ourselves so well served that only the vice-chairmanship was vacant—and that by custom. A difficult decision had to be made, and it was no easy matter to choose between Morris, the Wales D.O., and Shafraan, the Mile End Agent. Our experience

of Morris's past chairmanships taught us that we could not surpass him, but many felt that, as he had been chairman before and another exceedingly able man was in the field, the job ought to go round. It was not surprising, therefore, that the vote was dead even and a second vote had to be taken, which gave George Morris a majority of two.

But the Conference would have been a tame affair but for the one big issue which transformed it into one of the most important gatherings in the history of our Union—the presentation at long last of a practical pensions scheme which, when applied will bring to Labour Agents and Head Office Staff some of that security which our lives are spent in organising for everyone else.

Last year's Southport Conference instructed the Executive to consider and present a pensions scheme this year, and the scheme was before us in a wealth of detail. The Report containing the scheme was a fine piece of workmanship, worthy of the best traditions of the Union, and Herbert Drinkwater was entitled to all the praise and credit accorded to him for a good job, well done.

There was a note of drama in the situation for Arthur Petch, of the N.U.D.A.W., who worked long and well, collaborating with the General Secretary in the actuarial work of the Report, had passed away before his findings could be presented to us. As we stood a moment in reverence to his memory it occurred to me that it was a glorious thing that our own Movement could supply us with an expert and experienced mind, so adequately to submit a solution to what surely must be one of the knottiest problems in the history of superannuation.

There was not a word of criticism. On the contrary, I cannot remember any other item in an E.C. Report which had such obvious and unanimous support and acclamation. Miles, of London, as usual, rose to the occasion with one of his terse and adequate comments. "I hope," he said, "that when Agents reach the end of their active life, and, in the enjoyment of their pension, are tempted to celebrate, they will remember as a guidance that they owe it to — Drinkwater."

My allotted space has gone with

barely room to sum up. The Conference, like its big brother in the Dome, was somewhat overshadowed by the magnitude of its big decision. The Pensions Scheme, admirable as it is and conclusive as it seems to be, is only in its early stages. It presents to the entire movement a new problem which will not be easy to solve, but the Union's case is sound and the decision of the 1935 Conference will take its deservedly important place for some time to come and when the history of the Union is written.

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LABOUR PARTIES  
AND  
WOMEN'S SECTIONS !

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# V. FOR S. CAMPAIGN

## DID IT FAIL?

Now that the election is over, it is pertinent and timely to ask did the "Victory for Socialism" campaign succeed? The Movement will ask this question, and the Movement, we consider, ought to have the facts in order to come to its own conclusions.

That Labour has not achieved power, nor any striking success, does not of itself suffice to say that the campaign failed. But on the other hand, it is untrue to say that because there was a campaign, and that such and such things were done, therefore there must have been success.

The question that can be faced now is not only whether the campaign succeeded or no, but whether it was well found in the first place, and based upon sound principles; was too much or too little effort put into it; and what were the reactions of our Movement to the scheme?

We should be glad to see some data which would throw light upon how those Parties fared at the polls who had participated in the scheme, as compared with those Parties who did not participate. Not that we should place too much reliance upon such figures, for obviously it was mostly the more successful Parties which participated, while there were other Parties in mass-vote constituencies who did not participate, but whose wins at the election were virtual certainties long ago.

Out of loyalty to the Labour Party this journal refrained from expressing many doubts which occurred to it when the "Victory for Socialism" scheme was first mooted. And the "Labour Organiser" devoted much space to urging the Movement to fall in with national desires, and to co-operate in the scheme. We did this for a period covering over two years. Perhaps now the election is over our doubts may see the light for it is not at all improbable that a similar scheme may be launched upon the Movement without due considera-

tion of all the objections or alternatives to it.

In the first place we are not among those who believe that a deluge of leaflets—not even month by month and month by month—is the only, or the best means of driving home conviction to the British mind. After all, one does not get at the average British brain by hammer blows upon the cranium; and indeed few persons are convinced by frontal attacks, but millions more by other means more subtle and more comforting to the convert.

The central point about the "V. for S." campaign was this deluge of leaflets; these hammer blows month by month; the sweet persuasion of many millions of messages going periodically into British homes. We say now, quite candidly, that in our view the method was wrong, the material was unsuited and the magnitude of the response was overestimated. The effort failed as it was bound to do.

In saying this, let us not grudge one single word of gratitude to the authors. We see the problem as they saw it—30,000,000 electors, six to eight million Labour voters, and a gigantic task of conversion to be done before a majority for Socialism can be secured. We agree as to the urgency of the problem, more urgent now than two years ago, and we agree also that the problem is a challenge to all Socialists; it is a problem we must solve. But one method for solution was thrust upon us very suddenly: and it wasn't the right one.

We remember with mixed feelings that since 1931 quite a number of campaigns were launched by the Party. There were Membership Campaigns; the "Call to Action" Campaign; Educational Conferences, Agricultural Campaigns, Organisation Conferences, Local Government Conferences, Youth Campaigns, and at least one or two other minor national efforts. Of these the Membership



Campaign and the Organisation Conferences seem to us to have had the most important bearing upon Labour's prospects at the polls.

Now one of the fears we felt about the Victory for Socialism Campaign was that it would divert the energies of the Movement from membership building and scientific organisation into other and less effective channels. In fact so far as membership is concerned, we believe the "Victory for Socialism" Campaign had a direct and immediate adverse effect. And so far as scientific organisation is concerned the effect was to train bill distributors rather than election workers; the campaign had no influence at all in improving the Party's machinery.

Our readers will recollect that early in 1932 and again in 1933 membership campaigns were launched on a national scale. There was success, though by no means sufficient. One of the principal objects in increasing the Party's membership is to give it the man and woman power necessary for its future tasks. In hundreds of constituencies the lack of sufficient man and woman power, i.e., of sufficient membership, has been manifest at the recent elections, yet the Victory for Socialism campaign actually put this matter in the back ground.

Again in 1933 a series of successful organisation conferences were held throughout the country. The mind of the Movement, really for the first time in its history, began to be concentrated on Party-building. The tin-pot Party idea was to go, and conceptions of really great and influential local organisations were put before the Movement and accepted as the rôle they were to aim at and become in the future.

Hardly was the determination made and a new era in Local Party strength begun than the "Victory for Socialism" campaign burst upon the Movement. Membership had not been sufficiently built up, and at any rate, where it had been built, it had not been consolidated; organisation had not been recast and the new and bigger ideas were hardly home to the localities from the Conferences. Everything was to be put aside; the Movement was now to harness itself for a stupendous plan of conversion, costing incidentally quite a lot of local money. We protest that this was not the way to do things, and that it has not done them.

There are alternatives to the "Vic-

tory for Socialism" plan. Even if one accepts the theory that the written word has never been sufficiently tried out there is at least some variation obtainable from heavy leaflets and millions of them. But we have never met anyone who was consulted about an alternative to the plan.

We believe incidentally that a scheme to encourage local Labour newspapers would have been infinitely more effective than leaflets. We needed also to develop (and supply) Labour's billposting stations, to increase the number of appointed agents for selling Labour literature, to establish and employ a corps of colporteurs, and to extend collectorship among Labour membership in the country. We ought not to have abandoned the stimulus of the membership and organisation campaigns for just a new idea.

But we will not go into alternatives here. We merely express the profound hope that if, this winter, the National E.C. of the Labour Party considers plans for a Spring campaign, it will at least not persist in the thought that a deluge of leaflets (heaps of them undelivered) can pave the path to victory. One lesson should be enough.

**Do ALL the officers  
of your Party get the  
"L.O."?**

*If not, why not?*

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1,000 New Readers**

*Will you help?*

The Luton Labour Party recently commenced publication of an eight-page monthly journal known as the "Luton Herald." Ten thousand copies of the first issue were distributed free, the total cost being almost covered by advertisements. The paper is very well got up, and we should imagine that someone connected with it has had some experience of the job.

If our friends would try a "magazine" page as one of the regular features, it is probable that their new journal would find a permanent place in the hearts of Luton people.

## USE THAT LITTLE—WELL!

Following the General Election we are quite sure our readers would like to know something of how a business man's mind functions.

In the November issue of one of the business efficiency journals, the head of a well-known Timber Company contributes an article on making decisions. The method will be interesting. It claims to be a slow-motion showing of the method and technique adopted, going into detail, and slowing up, "all those lightning mental movements" which of course the said business head goes through prior to making up his mind on any question.

After reading the following extract the reader will know how it is that wage increases take such a time to mature!

### How to Make a Decision on any Given Problem.

#### 1. Classify Your Problem as to:

- (A) Importance—
  - (1) Small or large.
  - (2) Simple or complex.
  - (3) Extent of appropriate consideration.
- (B) Time element—
  - (1) Is immediate decision needed?
  - (2) Should decision be deferred for (a) more information, (b) further study of facts, (c) a more extended observation of conditions?
- (C) Are you the one to make the decision or should it be made by:
  - (1) Your superior in authority?
  - (2) Your subordinate?
  - (3) In or after conference?

(It is taken for granted that all minor decisions are made on the spot or dealt with as quickly as circumstances allow. Here we are concerned with big decisions.)

#### 2. Analysis of Problem:

- (A) Relation of problem to—
  - (1) Known facts, that is (a) are more facts needed before decision, (b) does importance or complexity of problem call for further research and study or expert advice?
  - (2) Other problems which (a) should be solved first, (b) should be considered with it, (c) will be affected by this decision.

- (3) Other (a) individuals, (b) departments, (c) companies, (d) occasions (later).
- (B) Does the problem affect or is it affected by—
  - (1) General policy, (a) departmental, (b) company, (c) industry?
  - (2) Precedent, (a) past, (b) future?
- (C) If the answer to any part of "B" is "yes," would it be worth while or constructive to consult with one or more—
  - (1) Of those affected?
  - (2) Who would be interested?
  - (3) Who should know?
- (D) If the answer to "C" is "yes"—
  - (1) Are you prepared with facts?
  - (2) Have you reduced the problem to a point where it can (a) be summarised and (b) separated into part or parts which you will want to discuss with others?

#### 3. Solving the Problem:

- (A) Break into component parts—
  - (1) Baffling problems simplified if various factors are considered separately, such as (a) separate factors which confuse the issue, (b) eliminate factors which do not apply or are unimportant, and (c) arrange factors in order of importance.
  - (2) Make two columns of (a) affirmative arguments and (b) negative arguments.
  - (3) Balance affirmative arguments against negative, finally arriving at determining factors.
- (B) Weigh from all angles—
  - (1) Your point of view.
  - (2) The point of view of all concerned.
- (C) Mature your decision by—
  - (1) Facing facts with candour.
  - (2) Eliminating emotional considerations.
  - (3) Avoiding superficial reasoning.
  - (4) Maintaining the broad point of view.
  - (5) Considering the "long run" effects and results.
  - (6) Avoiding impulsive decisions on important matters.
  - (7) Remembering to consider the other man's time problem.



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# THE RETURN OF ELECTION EXPENSES

## A BUDGET OF TIMELY HINTS

Every claim against a candidate or his election agent in respect of election expenses must be sent in to the election agent within fourteen days after the day of declaration. Where the declaration was made on November 14th, the last day is 28th November (Section 29 C.I.P.P.A., 1883).

All election expenses must be paid within twenty-eight days after the day of declaration. In the case of declarations made on 14th November, the last day will be 12th December (Section 29 C.I.P.P.A., 1883).

Within thirty-five days after the day of declaration the election agent must transmit a return of election expenses to the returning officer, accompanied by the appropriate "declaration." In the case of a declaration of return made on 14th November, the last date would be 19th December (Section 33 C.I.P.P.A., 1883).

At the same time, or within seven days after the agent has transmitted his return, the candidate must transmit his appropriate declaration (Section 33 C.I.P.P.A., 1883).

There is no task about an election less envied than that of him who has to do the "settling up." At every election, when indeed,

*The tumult and the shouting dies,*

*The captains and the kings depart—* there still remains that ancient sacrifice—the election agent. However enthused he may have been about the result, the next two or three weeks' work will instil in him a lowly and a contrite heart, which will be past praying for.

The candidate will have gone to take his seat, or to draw his deposit as the case may be, but the election agent slaves on, most often (amid the mutterings of critics) at a task which no man relishes, and few succeed in accomplishing to everybody's satisfaction.

Many difficulties of the agent have their origin in the fact that Labour

takes unkindly to the kind of auto-cracy established by Act of Parliament in relation to election expenses, and the general conduct of elections. The Labour agent must always be on the look-out for unauthorised (and therefore illegal) actions and expenses; what is worse he has to stand the racket for them. All too often we are afraid estimates are exceeded, not by the agent himself, but by those who had no right to order this or that, or to incur expenses.

### WHAT DID IT COST?

One of the earliest duties of the election agent following the polling is to ascertain what accounts are owing and the total cost of the election.

A method sometimes advised to ensure that all accounts are "in" is to advertise for claims. This course is merely a revival of the days of lavish expenditure. Its effect is frequently no more than an invitation to all sorts of people to come in and claim payment notwithstanding that no sort of contract was ever entered into with them. Advertisement has always seemed to us to savour of an announcement of public funds to be plundered, and in all our experience we have never once advertised for claims.

No agent who has kept proper check over his expenses will need to advertise. Employees at the election, of course, will all be known. The agent will have his list of Committee rooms and halls, and he will know his items of printing. There should be few miscellaneous expenses, and in short, persons to whom money is owing should be readily ascertainable in a few moments.

Our own method is to insist upon invoices with goods, or as soon as practicable thereafter throughout the election. Where this has been done some saving of cost is inevitable, and all that is needed at the conclusion of an election is a reminder to persons who have not sent in their accounts.



We are assuming of course that agents have made clear from the commencement that they will not be responsible for unauthorised expenses. We ourselves have had all sorts of tricks attempted upon us at one time and another, and if any sort of newspaper announcement is specially desirable, it is an announcement at the commencement of an election warning people that no bills will be paid except for goods expressly ordered in writing by the election agent. Our experience included being charged for hotel bills, lodgings, car rides and all sorts of sundries where the person concerned has merely told the trustful tradesman "to send the bill to the agent." Only a fool would discharge bills of this character. We hope there are no fools among our readers.

The agent who has employed sub-agents, is in a somewhat different position regarding election expenses. His sub-agents have the same power as himself in incurring expenses, and they are subject to the same restrictions regarding payment.

No legal enactment lays down the date upon which sub-agents should forward their returns to the election agent. Sub-agents are, however, subject to the provisions of Section 29 for any claim they may have personally. Every claim against the candidate, or his election agent, which is not sent in to the election agent within fourteen days is statute barred.

This provision, covering as it does a sub-agent's remuneration, is the only weapon the election agent possesses to compel early returns. The law lays down nothing regarding the termination of a sub-agent's duties and the election agent must use what tact and discretion he possesses to ensure that he gets his accounts from his sub-agents in proper time.

The problem frequently facing the election agent when all the bills are in, is one which is, fortunately for us, outside the scope of this article. We cannot advise here as to what should be done where the expenses exceed the available funds. There is only one thing we can suggest, and that is an early meeting of the Party to face the problem.

The agent should not forget that a claim for his own remuneration must (by Section 32) be treated in the same manner as a claim by any other creditor, i.e., he must file his claim within fourteen days.

## THE SETTLING UP.

The next process is that of discharging the accounts owing. It is important to remember that all expenses must be paid "by and through the election agent . . . whether acting in person or by a sub-agent." The meaning here is clear: the agent must not let any third person settle up for him, nor leave the actual payment of bills to others under any circumstances.

The Act is complied with when the agent personally pays, when he personally transmits through the post, instructs his bank to pay, or sends a messenger with the cash. A messenger must be a mere means for conveyance: he must not be an ambassador with power to negotiate. That at any rate is our interpretation of the law.

In actual practice the agent will find personal payment far the best means by which to clear his liabilities. A personal visit is more satisfactory to creditors, it removes possibilities of fraud, illegality, etc., and it gives the opportunity sometimes for securing discounts.

The experienced agent will generally have provided himself with his own printed forms of receipt for all disbursements. He must be careful to secure full particulars regarding every item of expenditure for they are needed for the returns, and he must secure receipts in every case of a payment of forty shillings or over.

## LOOK AT THE FORMS.

The Act of Parliament lays down a particular form in which the return of election expenses must be made. At first sight the form is a very elementary one, and it certainly gives one the impression that sixty years ago book-keeping must have been in its rudimentary stages.

Our principal quarrel with the prescribed form of return is that ninety-nine out of a hundred agents will have kept their payments in date order. Some will have analysed into appropriate analysis columns and it would be thought that a copy of a cashbook of this character would be sufficient for the purposes of return. The law, however, requires a form of return wherein every payment is analysed under specified headings, and under the names of persons or firms. A messenger or a stationer, for instance, may appear in an agent's cashbook several

times at different dates, but in the election return all these dates must be brought together and the individual must be catalogued under some specified heading. The same individual may in fact appear under several headings in one return.

The "form of return" has several pitfalls. The summary, for instance, consists of a statement of income, i.e., monies received by the election agent, and a statement of expenditure, including one item of expenditure *not* paid by the election agent, i.e., the candidate's personal expenses paid by himself. The summary therefore is *not* a balance sheet both sides of which must tally. The items on the expenditure side will normally exceed that on the income side by exactly the amounts which the candidate has paid himself for personal expenses.

The summary is usually accompanied by a number of supplementary sheets giving the items which are summarised on the return.

The election parcel supplied by the Labour Party contains the return and election expenses, plus all the necessary supplementary forms. It is desirable that the agent should make out his accounts on other forms prior to final entry on the papers to be sent to the R.O.

An important point to observe is that the Act requires full details to be "returned" i.e., *names and descriptions* of every polling agent, clerk and messenger with the sum paid to each set out separately; also the name and description of every person to whom money has been paid and the nature of the goods supplied or the work and labour done by each to be set out.

### THE INCOME SIDE.

The "return" requires a statement of all money (and equivalent) received by the election agent from the candidate or *any other person* for the purpose of election expenses.

Circumstances differ widely in this matter. It is conceivable that in some cases the whole of the agent's election income has been received by him from one source, and after all, the law merely requires to know *from whom* the agent has received money. At the other extreme are to be found cases where agents have received possibly hundreds of separate contributions from individuals. This is sometimes the case when the election agent is

also the Divisional Secretary and in charge of the money-raising efforts of the Party promoting the candidature. We can only say that in such cases the law requires a declaration as to the names (the Act does not say addresses or description) of every person from whom money has been received. The difficulty which an agent is here confronted with does not exist when a separate treasurer or collector for the election fund has been appointed, because in such cases donations would have been to the Party's fighting fund, and it could be truthfully said that the agent received his funds from the Party.

In most cases, however, a handful of entries will cover all the sources from which money has been received, except monies received as collections at meetings.

It is clearly impossible to give the names of donors to collections. The best plan is to return the money as collection at such and such a meeting per—naming the chief steward or person handing in the cash.

### CANDIDATE'S PERSONAL EXPENSES.

This, the first item on the expenditure side, has already been referred to.

Section 31 requires the candidate to send to the election agent within fourteen days a written statement of the amount of personal expenses paid by the candidate. Details are not required, but the candidate for his own future protection ought to be able to vouch for the items.

## After the Election

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The candidate is not permitted to pay more than £100 on account of personal expenses. There is no limit, however, to the total under this head, provided the agent himself pays everything in excess of £100. In such cases the agent must declare the items.

### AGENT'S FEE.

It is not our purpose here to discuss the merits or the amount of the agent's fee. A receipt must be filed for the amount received. The personal expenses of the election agent are more properly returned under the heading of Miscellaneous. Where a subsistence allowance is paid to any agent such allowance is more properly returned as a fee.

### PAYMENTS TO EMPLOYEES.

The agent is required to declare the "name and description" of each sub-agent, polling agent, clerk or messenger, and the sum paid to each must be set out separately. In most cases a man's address will be sufficient description for the purpose, though in the case of ambiguous addresses the law might be more fully complied with by giving the employee's occupation. The Act does not state that there must be a detailed account of each person's services as vouching for the payment made, but it does stipulate for "a bill stating the particulars," and a receipt. In the case of clerks and messengers the number of days' service paid for is required.

### PRINTING, Etc.

The return of election expenses requires that the amounts paid for printing, advertising and stationery should be separately entered. We submit that no special sin is committed where it is found impossible to segregate these items, as is often the case with a printer's bill. For instance, if one statement and one receipt is received from the printer covering items which might equally well be described as printing or stationery, or even advertising, we ourselves should not hesitate to return the whole item under the head of printing.

All the items for which payment is made, i.e., the whole bill with its particulars is required for the purposes of the return. It is then sufficient to

say "paid to —, of — in respect of items, particulars of which are attached hereto."

### MEETINGS AND COMMITTEE ROOMS.

The Act requires that every room rented either for a meeting or as a Committee Room must be named or described so as to identify it; and the name and description of every person to whom any payment was made for such room, and the amount paid, must be separately set out.

In "settling up" the agent will require to bear this instruction in mind. The name of the person to whom money is paid for the rent of a hall is not always available when required.

It is at this point in the election return that most agents will begin to wonder whether or no there is some flaw in the Act.

And here it is. Section 17 and First Schedule (part 2) of the C.I.P.P.A. 1883 permit the expenses of holding public meetings, and prohibit the employment of any persons except for this and other purposes named, or in certain specified capacities which we have already dealt with. But the prescribed form of election return does not correspond with the wording of the Act, for the return seems to limit the expenses of holding public meetings or Committee Rooms to payment for hire only.

It has always appeared to us that the expenses of holding a public meeting, or of a Committee Room, cannot be limited to payment of rent only. We therefore see no objection to an election agent returning the whole of his expenses in connection with public meetings, or Committee Rooms under those heads, except of course where they are provided otherwise under specified heads such as printing.

Put another way, we suggest that such items as caretakers' fees, monies paid for cleaning, lighting and heating, are properly included as expenses of holding public meetings or of committee rooms, as the case may be.

As to whether the expenses of holding public meetings justify the employment of speakers, or whether the expenses of speakers should be returned under the same head, are matters still in doubt. We dealt with a similar question in our issue for June, 1935 (see page 106).

## MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

The law generously allows the sum of £200 as the maximum which may be spent under this heading. Miscellaneous items will generally include car hire, typewriting charges, telephone and similar items. On no account should there be an entry in respect of refreshments, nor for employment in any capacity whatever. All persons employed must be fitted in under the appropriate headings.

## THE DECLARATIONS.

No particular difficulty ought to arise in regard to the agent's and candidate's declarations. Nevertheless, we have frequently seen errors in same, and on one occasion we turned up a declaration where the agent had declared that all the money he had received for the purposes of the election was the sum of £15! He had confused his own fee with the total election expenses.

Take notice, that difficulties are created where the candidate cannot

file his declaration along with the return and agent's declaration. Every agent should take great care to have his accounts completely ready to forward to the candidate several days ahead of time.

## FINALLY.

It should be clearly understood that the returning officer has no function or authority either to criticise or refuse to accept the returns and declarations as sent to him.

We have known agents who permit their returning officer to go through the accounts with them in order, presumably, that the R.O. may be satisfied as to accuracy and compliance with the law.

We strongly disapprove of an agent acting in this manner. The proper persons to consult as to the accuracy of returns are the officers of the Labour Party, and as a final word of advice we suggest that no agent should file his return until he has been O.K.'d by a Party Officer—and with at least some days to spare.

## ATTENTION, PLEASE!

### BLAYDON AND WINLATON LABOUR PARTY.

24, Polmaise Street,  
Blaydon-on-Tyne.

November 22nd, 1935.

Editor "The Labour Organiser."

Dear Sir,

While dissatisfied with the general result of the election, we in this Division have reason to be satisfied with the return of Mr. Whiteley with over 9,000 majority.

This success, in a large measure, we attribute to organisation so often advocated in your excellent monthly.

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E. COLGAN.

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